

## Message Text

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16

ACTION SS-25

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P R 090942Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5985

INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 0369

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, KS, KN, JA

SUBJ: FOREIGN OFFICE THOUGHTS ON KOREA IN 31ST UNGA

REF: A) STATE 296560 (LIMDIS/NOTAL): B) SEOUL 0113(NOTAL)

SUMMARY: MOFA WORKING LEVELS, ACCORDING TO UN POLITICAL  
DIVDIR KOBAYASHI, ARE THINKING HARD ABOUT TACTICS FOR  
THIS YEAR'S UN KOREA DEBATE AND ARE EAGER TO EXCHANGE  
VIEWS AT PROPOSED CORE GROUP MEETINGS AND BILATERALLY.  
FONOFF IS INCLINED TO FAVOR UNILATERAL DISSOLUTION OF  
UNC, A STEP IT THINKS WOULD ADVANCE CHANCES OF SWINGING  
ASEAN STATES AND OTHER "NEUTRALS" TO HELPFUL STANCE.  
KOBAYASHI SAYS FONOFF WAS PLEASANTLY SURPRISED BY RELATIVE  
DOCILITY OF PRESS AND OPPOSITION ON KOREA QUESTION  
LAST AUTUMN, WHICH IT ATTRIBUTES MAINLY TO MATURING  
PUBLIC VIEW OF SECURITY QUESTIONS. IN EXPECTATION OF  
CONTINUED PYONGYANG RIGIDITY, HE ADDED, FONOFF READY  
FOR "CONFRONTATION," WHICH EMBASSY SEES REASON TO HOPE  
WILL INCLUDE FORCEFUL LOBBYING AGAINST HOSTILE  
RESOLUTION. END SUMMARY.

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1. EMBOFF DISCUSSED PROSPECTS FOR KOREA QUESTION IN

THE 31ST UNGA WITH MOFA UN POLITICAL DIVDIR KOBAYASHI ON JANUARY 7. TENOR OF HIS COMMENTS MADE IT CLEAR THAT FONOFF IS ALREADY THINKING HARD ABOUT THIS YEAR'S SET-TO, AND REF. B(NE ASIA DIVDIR ENDO'S VISIT TO SEOUL) IS ADDITIONAL CONFIRMATION. KOBAYASHI SAID FONOFF WELCOMES CANADIAN PROPOSAL FOR EARLY CORE GROUP MEETING IN NEW YORK. FONOFF WOULD LIKE IT TO TAKE PLACE IN EARLY FEBRUARY: KOBAYASHI WILL PROBABLY ATTEND, AS UN BUREAU DIRGEN OKAWA WILL BE TIED UP BY DIET SESSION. OKAWA IS PLANNING VISIT TO SOUTH KOREA CIRCA JANUARY 20, AND KOBAYASHI WILL LIKELY ALSO VISIT AT A LATER DATE. OKAWA FURTHER DESIRES TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH DCM "SOON," WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CANADIAN SCENARIO (OF WHICH WE ARE SO FAR AWARE ONLY VIA GRAPEVINE).

2. KOBAYASHI, WHO HAS RELIABLY REFLECTED HIS SUPERIORS' VIEWS IN PAST, IS VERY MUCH TAKEN WITH THE NOTION OF DEVISING A FORMULA ON THE KOREA QUESTION THAT CAN BE SOLD TO THE ASEAN STATES AND OTHER "NEUTRALS." IF CORE GROUP VIEWS CAN BE CONCERTED IN TIME, PM MIKI FAVORABLY DISPOSED TO DOING SOME PROSELYTIZING DURING PLANNED LATE FEBRUARY VISIT TO ASEAN STATES. KOBAYASHI THINKS CENTERPIECE OF FRIENDLY SIDE PITCH MIGHT WELL BE UNILATERAL DISSOLUTION OF UNC. EMBOFF NOTED US WISH TO HAVE SOME ASSURANCE, AT LEAST INDIRECTLY, FROM OTHER SIDE THAT ARMISTICE WILL BE MAINTAINED BEFORE PLAYING UNC CARD. KOBAYASHI WONDERED IF RUSSIANS COULDN'T BE HELPFUL IN THIS REGARD. HE HINTED THAT JAPANESE CONSIDERED RAISING SUBJECT DURING GROMYKO VISIT THIS WEEKEND, BUT HAVE CONCLUDED THAT US MUCH BETTER ABLE MAKE APPROACH.

3. FONOFF HAS CONCLUDED, KOBAYASHI SAID, THAT JAPANESE "CONFRONTATION" WITH PYONGYANG PROBABLY INEVITABLE AGAIN THIS YEAR. HE THINKS IT NOT INCONCEIVABLE THAT THEY COULD SURPRISE US, FOR EXAMPLE BY ACKNOWLEDGING SEOUL AS LEGITIMATE PARTY TO TALKS ON FUTURE OF PENINSULA, AND IT IS IMPORTANT THAT OUR SIDE CONSIDER HOW WE WOULD RESPOND IN SUCH AN EVENT. BUT ALL INDICATIONS ARE THAT NORTH KOREANS WILL BE LEAST AS CONFIDENTIAL

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RIGID IN 31ST UNGA AS LAST YEAR. KOBAYASHI REPEATED HOPE THAT NEUTRALS WOULD HELP US BY WORKING UP A RESOLUTION OUR SIDE COULD QUIETLY SUPPORT. BUT, HE ADDED, FONOFF IS PREPARED TO "CONFRONT" PYONGYANG AND IS CONSIDERING HOW TO MANAGE DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEMS "CONFRONTATION" INEVITABLY ENTAILS.

4. IN RETROSPECT, KOBAYASHI CONTINUED, FONOFF IS RATHER

PLEASED THAT NEITHER PRESS NOR OPPOSITION CHOSE TO RAISE FUSS OVER JAPANESE POSITION ON KOREA QUESTION THIS YEAR. HE BELIEVES THIS REFLECTS SOBERED DOMESTIC PERCEPTION OF SECURITY IMPERATIVES "POST-INDOCHINA." HE FURTHER THINKS FONOFF'S MANAGEMENT OF ISSUE THIS YEAR WAS RATHER GOOD AND THAT THE SECRETARY'S PROPOSAL FOR FOUR-POWER TALKS ON WAYS TO MAINTAIN ARMISTICE HAD A VERY HELPFUL IMPACT ON JAPANESE OPINION.

5. ON AFTERNOON JANUARY 9 OKAWA RAISED SUBJECT WITH DCM TO REPORT THAT CANADIAN EMBASSY REPRESENTATIVE WAS SCHEDULED TO CALL LATE THAT DAY. OKAWA WAS PREPARING TO INFORM CANADIANS THAT GOJ AGREED WITH THEIR PROPOSAL FOR EARLY MEETING OF EXPANDED CORE GROUP, ALTHOUGH IT OF COURSE WAS NOT COMMITTING ITSELF TO ANY OF THE OBSERVATIONS OR SUGGESTIONS MADE BY CANADIANS IN THEIR AIDE MEMOIRE (E.G., ASSESSMENT OF OUTCOME OF LAST UNGA AND PROSPECTS FOR NEXT, AND CANADIAN DISCUSSION OF PROSPECTS FOR DE-AMERICANIZATION). OKAWA SAID GOJ FAVORS MEETING IN FIRST HALF OF FEBRUARY TO HAVE MAXIMUM EFFECT ON ASEAN MEETINGS SCHEDULED TO OPEN FEBRUARY 17.

6. ACTION REQUESTED:  
OF TALKS WITH OKAWA, EMBASSY REQUESTS TEXT OF AND GUIDANCE ON CANADIAN SCENARIO. FOR SEOUL: BOTH OKAWA AND KOBAYASHI WILL APPRECIATE CHANCE TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH APPROPRIATE EMBOFFS DURING PROJECTED VISITS TO SEOUL. EMBOFF SUGGESTED THEY MAY ALSO WISH TO VISIT COMUSK FOR BRIEFING ON MILITARY SITUATION, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH HYPOTHEetical DISSOLUTION OF UNC. KOBAYASHI WAS RECEPTIVE, WITH CAVEAT THAT SUCH VISIT MUST BE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL. HE WILL GIVE DEFINITE REPLY  
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AFTER CONSULTATION WITH OKAWA.  
HODGSON

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## Message Attributes

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